FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 40 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, AUGUST 19, 1900. WHOLE NO. 280.

THE SMITH AND THE KING.

I.

A Smith upon a summer's day
Did call upon a King.
The King exclaimed: "The Queen's away;
Can I do anything?"
"I pray you can," the Smith replied.
"I want a bit of bread."
"Why?" cried the King. The fellow sighed.
"I'm hungry, sire," he said.

II.

"Dear me! I'll call my Chancellor.
He understands such things.
Your claims I cannot cancel, or
Deem them fit themes for Kings.
Sir Chancellor, why, here's a wretch
Starving like rats or mice!"
The Chancellor replied: "I'll fetch
The First Lord in a trice."

III.

The First Lord came, and by his look
You might have guessed he'd shirk.
Said he, "Your Majesty's mistook;
This is the Chief Clerk's work."
The Chief Clerk said the case was hard,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of cake and flour.

IV.

The Steward sobbed, "The keys I've lost,
Alas! but in a span
I'll call the Smith. Why, Holy Ghost!
Here is the very man!"
"Hurrah! Hurrah!" they loudly cried,
"How cleverly we've done it!
We've solved this question deep and wide,
Well nigh ere we'd begun it."

"Thanks," said the Smith. "O fools and vile,
Go rot upon the shelf!
The next time I am starving, I'll
Take care to help myself."

—Edward Carpenter.

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LABOR.

The "dignity of labor"—the dignity of a dunghill! Are not workmen offal, vulgar, common, low people, the rejected, the despised, the offscourings of "society"? "Dignify" a drudge!—glaze the pick, and gild the shovel! "Dignity of labor?"—what mawkish straining; flattery-by-our-"betters"—to-wheedle-us-into-feeling—that we are "some pumpkins" after all! Yes, we are "somebody" in spite of appearance! Appearances, in this case, mind you, are deceiving; therefore we conclude to idealize toil and faithfully tug at our tasks, instead of shooting the sleek systems of servitude out of society's stable door!

One definition of labor I find, that attempts to tinge it with "respectability;" but that one definition cannot deodorize the taint, or, rather, the stench of its other meanings. Deferential use of the word is accorded on the occasions, when the abominable system of wage slavery is defended by persons located on its profit side; and apologetically by the slaves themselves when they try (even while squirming in agony) to gloss over the mean position they occupy, and frame an excuse for staying in it. It is humiliating to one's self-conceit, to admit that rags specify the quality of the person who wears them. Wherever laborers are found, they comprise the tattered section of society. When they see themselves as they really are, as drudges, as cowardly, cringing menials, as beggars—begging a job—as members of an insignificant and disorderly order, their pride as well as their desire for better conditions, will incite them to denounce and demolish all systems of *labor*, as well as of *authority;* the twain are interdependent.

Not fine words nor flowery phrases can completely conceal the humble station of those who labor for hire. The salaried worker is to the wage worker as the waiting maid of "missus" was to the field hand in chattel slavery days. Caste amongst the sweated does not nullify the principle of baseness of situations controlled by bosses.

Let not the salaried underlings maintain that they are not sweated, or that they wear whole garments. For the sweating, their overtired nerves tell the tale; and their best toggery is as rags when compared with "massa's" wardrobe. There are, to be sure, some shirks in the ranks. Chattel slaves did not always strain their muscles to their greatest tension!

Let not the man who labors, though he be "owner" of a small "capital," of land or merchandise, plume himself upon being his own boss, and convince himself that he is therefore a free man. His master only floats different colors from the professional boss, and bleeds him indirectly. Neither is the boss a free man, but a slave overseer of fellow slaves.

A mob may be abundantly endowed with native intelligence, but be woefully ignorant of social principles. No society but such an ignorant mob need toil.

Without knowledge, society cannot be liberated; nor can it transmit freedom, unless it effects upon the young minds an understanding of wise social functions. When this understanding is the common stock of society, individuals will exercise their energies in a way agreeable to themselves, and with intent make life and the participation in its varied interests and enjoyments easy and certain. Labor (toil that exhausts) will be looked upon, *as it should now be*, with abhorrence. Perchance there may be persons who will, in play, fatigue mind or body by excessive exercise. In that case, they can at least take as much time as they like, to ponder over and recuperate from the folly of overtaxing the strength of their respective organs. Every comfort can be produced in sport; if it cannot, where is the comfort? Can you be comfortable while using comforts that destroy the health of their creators?

Pleasure is as much an essence of development, as dexterity is the result of close aquaintance with and handling of tools. It is claimed that "Jack the Giant Killer," and kindred literature (?) was written to amuse kingly minds! Children for quite a period of time have been pronounced the proper subjects to be entertained by it.

As I see it, in no age was labor necessary to sustain life; it was unnecessary except as a foundation for the glorification of a vampire class; a means by which the bloodsuckers could make a fine show. Whenever there is shortage of the staff of life, the laborers are the ones who suffer from starvation. *Display* is the most prominent feature of the upper side of all civilizations. Tinsel and tyranny,—pompous aristocrats!

Decay cannot germinate, in a society based upon individual liberty, resulting in voluntary co operation. This is a principle of genuine and lasting growth. Decadence is the consequence of antagonisms; of invasions, of slavery, drudgery, toil, labor—call it what you may. The sooner we realize this, the sooner shall we mend our ways.

Do we desire a truly social society? Then must *we* make it so. Bear in mind that when we want a thing done, we must do it *ourselves*. It is wasting brain force and precious time, to dream of deliverance from our wretched condition in life, by any Messiah or leader, or to expect it from any other source than that of our own bold assertions of what we want, and our own fixed resolution and hardihood in taking it.

The sham freeing of the Russian serfs, and the counterfeit emancipation of the negroes in the South,—the pretended liberations being guided, indirectly by the bitterest enemies of the shackled, viz., the financiers,—should warn us by their glaring failures to fulfil the hopes of those striving for man's freedom, of the utter hopelessness of dependence upon outsiders (opponents) for rescue from slavery (labor), and for the acquirement of freedom (leisure) which we can have and hold, only by our own initiative and alertness.

Berkeley, Calif. VIROQUA DANIELS.

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AS IT SEEMS TO ME.

"There is one way to break up such a monopoly; and that is by taxing into the public treasury the full rental value of the resources which the Almighty designed for all alike."

In Free Society, July 8, Kinghorn-Jones quotes the above, and touches it up in good shape when he asks: "Did the Almighty design rent?" and "What kind of an Almighty must he be, who allows his designs to be ignored?"

I was once a meek and lowly follower of the Single Tax idea; but the very principle, or manner of procedure, enunciated in the above quotation, was always more or less a stumbling-block to me—the more I studied it, the more clear it seemed to me that the social ills we suffer from today cannot be cured by a tax. And why should those who make use of the resources pay a tax into the public treasury for the (mutual) benefit of those who do not make use of them? One may as well pay a tax into the public treasury of millionaire robbers, as to pay a tax into the public treasury of political intriguers—government officials and law-protected robbers.

A single tax placed on land values taxed to the full rental value of land (and it must be so, or there will remain a margin for speculation), would not relieve man from the bonds of slavery that now bind him. For, taxed to the full rental value, there can be nothing left the producer above the living he now gets; the tax must be so rigid as to require that man shall labor to the extent of labor power, in order that land shall bring forth to its full capacity; or it is not taxed to its full rental value, and may be rented to somebody who will make better use of it. A tax is a tax, and can come from nowhere else than from the products of labor. Land must be free, before man can be free!

The Single Tax is expected to work with ease and grace, and to mete out equal justice under the same political machine management that is the cause of so much suffering today. We are to have a President at a salary of $50,000 a year, a Vice President and Cabinet officers at a salary of $8,000 a year, and so on down through Congress and Senate, including the retinue of official attendants with salaries more or less bountiful, whom the wealth producers of the country must support, while they content themselves with what is left. It seems to me that whatever need the people may have for managers, bookkeepers etc., should be supplied by persons capable, at a salary equal to the general prosperity of the nation; or in accord with an equitable distribution of the wealth produced. Now I don't mean to say that this is my idea of a system for society to adopt. I simply mean to say (or call attention to the fact) that men are great big fools to hire other men to rule over them, to make laws for them, and to govern them. It seems to me, no system that employs such means can give freedom to mankind.

Rutland, Vt. A. A. ORCUTT.

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NOTES.

The article, "Another Blow to Royalty," has been reprinted in leaflet form for wide distribution. It can be had from this office at 40 cents a hundred, other quantities at the same rate. Its special timeliness at present should cause it to be sown broadcast over the country. Order a supply, before they are gone. COME QUICK!

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When an article appears in the paper, it is not necessarily indorsed by the editor. I have repeatedly invited expressions from our opponents; and from time to time they avail themselves of the opportunity. We Anarchists have sufficient confidence in our cause to be unqualified believers in free speech. Any reader who is disposed to question any position taken by Free Society or any of the contributors, is cordially invited to send in his criticism. Our space is limited; but well-written articles in criticism of Anarchist principles, if free from offensive personalities, will always be welcome. Free Society desires to misrepresent nobody, and will never reject the correction of any error or objectionable statement. Don't abuse us behind our backs; but write directly to us. We promise you fair play and courteous treatment, although we reserve the right to refute any criticism that seems to us inconclusive.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."
Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

James F. Morton, Jr. ..Editor | A. Isaak.....Publisher

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary

CURRENT NEWS.

More direct information from Chicago continues to place the police outrages there in the worst possible light. The denial of the right of peaceful assemblage, brutal and unprovoked assaults, the authoritative declaration that the Anarchist propaganda shall not be carried on in the city of Chicago, mark a degree of tyranny at which no other large city has arrived. No other city is continually in hot water, for fear of Anarchist "plots"; because no other city denies the right of free speech. The Chicago police form one of the foulest blots on American civilization. Their shameless arrogance and indecent brutality have made them a bye-word and a hissing throughout the country.

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A transport has just arrived at San Francisco, bringing American refugees from China. Dr. R. E. Dittendorfer, to whom all deferred, as the best-posted man on the vessel, thus expresses himself:

"I was in a position to know that trouble was brewing, long before it came. You may attribute the uprising to any source that fancy may dictate; but the real cause of it was the missionaries. Great power was given to the missionaries by the Tien Tsin treaty of 1858; and the privileges have been abused. The Chinese were really coerced into the position in which the treaty placed them; and they were never sincere in regard to the treaty obligations.

"I fully appreciate the great good the missionaries have done; but when a class attempts to formulate a system of political dominion in the name of Christ, I, for one, resent it."

This is plain enough to need no comment. Humanity is paying a heavy price for the satisfaction of the three allied monstrosities—religious bigotry, commercial greed, and imperialistic ambition.

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Judge Dunne of San Francisco came near refusing to grant a divorce the other day. The evidence of desertion was perfectly plain; the friction and unhappiness between the mismated couple were patent enough; but "His Honor" hesitated, on account of suspicion of "collusion." In other words, the fact that both parties longed to escape from their misery is held to be a cause for keeping both of them in it. And this monstrous inhumanity is the most salient feature in the divorce laws which the "Liberals" who support marriage are so fond of pointing to, as a corrective of the evils flowing from their pet institution. But a close investigation of the facts is always displeasing to fetich worshippers.

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Four soldiers ran away from Manila, in order to fight in China. Their sole motive, according to their own words, was the lust of blood. There was not enough fighting in Manila to suit them; and they were left on guard in the city, instead of being sent on murdering expeditions to other parts of the island. This manifestation of a fiendish eagerness to slay their fellow-men is termed heroism; and while "military discipline" may require their punishment as deserters, they are the objects of considerable mawkish sympathy. Such are the ideals of war, in our "Christian" civilization.

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San Francisco policemen continue to disgrace themselves, after the manner of their kind. One of them last week obtained a warrant for the arrest of a little girl, and dragged her out of bed at 2 o' clock in the morning. Her crime was that of slapping his face, because he was brutally assaulting a woman whom he had arrested. Another officer attempted to secure the arrest of three men for highway robbery, because they took away the revolver with which he was threatening to shoot them. Another went off on a drunk with a police justice, and failed to show up for duty. Truly, civilization rests on the policeman.

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It seems that the maladministration cannot even take an honest census. The school census in Chicago shows about 300,000 more inhabitants than the Federal census. Similar discrepancies occur in other large cities. Gross dishonesty is found in every department touched by the paralyzing finger of government.

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General Willaston, who has just returned from Manila, says: "In my opinion, we must keep a large force in the islands indefinitely." This is pleasant reading for tax-payers. He also describes the beneficent result of American occupation, in increasing the cost of all the necessities of life. But he is really incautious in referring to the drunken debauchery of the American soldiers. The truth should not be told, where it might hurt the maladministration.

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In Alameda County, Cal., it is a crime to look for work. At least, the common practice of arresting men for vagrancy, because they are hunting a job, would seem to indicate as much. But there are fees in it for the constables; and so it does not matter how many innocent men suffer. Who said that government was instituted to protect the people?

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FROM OUR PATERSON COMRADES.

The wild and absurd stories in the daily press concerning the Paterson Anarchists are fully refuted in the current issue of the Questione Sociale, the paper representing our Italian comrades in that city. The silly narrative about the man who was chosen by lot to kill Humbert, and who backed out and instead killed his foreman and himself, is completely exploded. The man was not an Anarchist, and killed his foreman on account of private grievances. The pretended letter found on his body had no existence, outside of the imagination of the daily press.

The public prosecutor, the chief of police, and the mayor of Paterson, after thorough investigation, declare that there is no trace of any Anarchist plot; that the Anarchists of the city are not criminals; and that there is no ground for proceeding against them, or for interfering with their meetings. The chief of police, with the approval of the mayor, says: "In fact, it is no crime to be an Anarchist; and there is no law which prohibits Anarchists from assembling together." Yet the press continue their cheap slanders; and the burly blue-coated brutes of Chicago arrest men and women for the bare intention of holding a meeting, and seize and club a man for merely crying "shame!" on witnessing police brutality toward a woman.

Here are the resolutions adopted by our Paterson Comrades, at a large and orderly meeting:

1. We, who are assembled, declare that the deed committed by Bresci is a fatal result of present social conditions; and that therefore it is necessary to destroy that state of things, in order to establish another, in which violent deeds shall no more be possible.

2. We declare absurd the supposition that a plot has been formed in this city, and protest energetically against the attempt to make the Italian colony in Paterson responsible for Bresci's deed.

3. We pity the press, American as well as Italian, which is obliged to have recourse to the fabrication of sensational stories, in order to make a living.

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A CHRISTIAN MARTYR.

The alleged massacre of Protestant missionaries in China gives excellent prospect of turning out a fake, devised to set their fellow Christians at the goodly work of killing "moon-eyed lepers." Before the censors, Caucasian and Mongolian, get through lying, and give us an opportunity to know whether we should laugh or cuss, it may be timely to learn what these blessed disciples of Jesus have been doing in the Flowery Kingdom, and whether, supposing the worst, they got anything else than what they worked for.

Christianity, though never very popular in China, has long been known there. The sect of Nestorius, expelled from the Roman Empire in the fifth century, turned eastward for other worlds to conquer. As early as their patriarch Silas (505–520), they had a metropolitan bishop of "Sina." In 551, their monks conferred a great benefit upon Europe by importing the silk-worm's eggs. Their only native record, partly in Syriac, partly in Chinese, was erected at Si-ngan, province of Sheusi, in 781. It describes the emperors as eminently friendly; and is preserved for a venerable monument by the pagans, by whom it was discovered in 1625. About 845, there is stated to have been persecution and civil war; but Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, found the native Christians still numerous and influential. The existence of a Christian prince, Prester John, who fell before Genghis Khan in 1203, appears to be adequately attested, though much glamor has been cast around his name, through confusion of different persons. The first Roman Catholic missionaries were sent by land in 1288. Their metropolitan, John of Montecorvino, is chief witness to Prester John; Marco Polo being another. The Catholics quarreled in most orthodox fashion with their Nestorian predecessors; and both appear to have perished during the great rebellion of 1368, when the Boxers of that period expelled the Mongol dynasty, whose religious liberality is attested by all authorities. This event, the massacre at the festival of the Loaves of the Moon, made a profound impression upon both Chinese and Tartars, whom the Jesuit Huc found still observing its anniversary with great pomp.

Modern missions in China date from 1580, when a Jesuit, Michael Ruggiero, first obtained access to Macao. Since this time, there has always been a Catholic organization in the country. Its greatest religious exploit was introducing Christianity into Corea, where the new creed has prospered better than in any far eastern land. The Chinese Catholics by no means escaped persecution, brought on mostly by the intemperate zeal of Franciscans and Dominicans. The prudence of the Jesuits was bitterly reviled by these enthusiasts, and sometimes mildly censured by Rome; but on the whole it governed Catholic policy in Asia. The long-headed disciples of Loyola perceived that the Chinese were much more ready to accept western science than western theology. They presented themselves accordingly, as secular teachers, getting in something edgewise about religion, when they conveniently could. It was by such "a word fitly spoken" that they made their great *coup* in Corea. As early as 1636, "they had published no fewer than three hundred and forty treatises, some of them religious, but mostly on natural philosophy and mathematics." The logarithmic tables of Briggs have been found, since the binomial theorem was invented, to contain a few errors. All are reproduced in the Chinese tables, which strikingly shows how up to date the Jesuits were in Briggs' time. Jesuits made, under Imperial authority, the first accurate survey of the Empire (1708–18). From the Catholic missions in China, proceeded the great chronological work *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*. Did these men neglect the higher function for which they were furnished with means by the piety of Catholic Europe? We will take our answer from a Protestant missionaries' mouthpiece, S. Wells Williams L. L. D., whose well-known work "The Middle Kingdom," is the only authority I have seen any necessity for citing. Dr. Williams says that in 1881, the Chinese Catholics numbered 1,092,818. "In the persecutions," he says, "some have left the faith. . . . hence the estimate represents *the number now adhering*." The increase is largely natural. "In one village of South China, one man and his wife first became converts. The number of adherents now here is one hundred, all descendants of the pair; and this increase is entirely by natural descent and marriage." The native priests number 559. "A number of Chinese are yearly sent to Rome to be educated at the college of the Propaganda." It would be difficult to imagine more judicious, honorable, or unselfish propagation of Christian civilization among a heathen population. The martyrs in occasional persecution may safely, he says, be estimated by hundreds. I have looked carefully through Williams' account for a list of Protestant martyrs; and do not find a single one. But I do not mean to say there were none. I am going to write about one. Only the missionaries disclaim him, which he well might them.

As the Jesuit came, risking life and sacrificing all its personal objects, to propagate his creed in the guise of a scientific instructor; the Protestant missionary, encumbered with a family and a salary, came under the shelter of foreign cannon, to preach Jesus and sell opium. Is this too strongly put? I shall cite no one but Williams, in proof of my particulars. The accursed

opium trade is not traced further back than 1767. It was then in the hands of the Portuguese, and seems to have been chiefly medicinal; for in 1781 the English having sent in 1600 chests (the regular annual import was about a thousand) these were found unsaleable. The importation was prohibited in 1800 The decrees against it began to be enforced in 1820. This was because the East India Company, as early as 1809, had taken what seemed efficient measures to prevent the exportation from their dominions to China; but (it appeared during the interval) both governments had failed as signally as all do when crusading against vice. The first Protestant missionary, Morrison, came to Canton in 1807, as an attache of American opium smugglers, was expelled, accordingly, next year; but returned in 1809, under the ægis of the East India Company, and continued his labors till his death in 1834. I have no wish to do him injustice. His principal work was really a useful one—it was giving the English and Chinese languages the common basis of a dictionary—but what a figure does a professed evangelist cut as a life-long servant of opium smugglers among the heathen! His successors, for twenty-four years, all appear sneaking into China after the same disgraceful fashion, as employes, protected by treaty, of merchants who were grossly violating the treaty for infamous purposes, with impunity secured by foreign arms. Not one risked his precious carcase beyond the limit of that protection he was aiding to misuse so atrociously. But if they had no zeal for extension of "benevolent assimilation," the opium smugglers had. We constantly find them urging the missionaries to more extended operations, which, however, I repeat it, never transgressed the limit of prudent smuggling. They also, with obvious motives, gave their illgotten money freely to promote the establishment of schools and hospitals in those few places open to foreigners. The fruit of this bourgeois intrusion was the infamous Opium War of England against China (1839–42), which enlarged the field of evangelistic labor. That it was an "opium war" and nothing else, is stated in the plainest manner by Dr. Williams. No better were the wars of 1856–8, in which the other bourgeois nations took part, and which resulted in legalization of opium and Christianity, *par nobile fratrum*!—in which the French and English committed the grossest acts of vandalism. The fruits of these diabolical wars, of which the missionaries could not but be ashamed, but which they had done their full share to cause, shall be stated, as usual, by their representatives. The cultivation of opium in India is a government monopoly. A ryot (farmer) who attempts to raise it without giving bonds to deliver at a fixed rate, is compelled to find them, or destroy his poppies. *The cultivation* of the damnable stuff is *compulsory*. If the ryot refuses his earned money, the (Queen's) agents seize him, tie it up in his clothes, and push him indoors, which binds the contract. "The northern and central parts of India are now covered with poppies, *while other plants used for food or clothing have nearly been driven out.*" And those who stole the livery of heaven to do this devil's work, have the impudence to beg for the victims of famine in India! Forty-nine fiftieths of the import comes from thence. The average is stated by Williams to be from 12,000,000 to 13,000,000 pounds a year, the approximate value $60 000,000. For its effect on bodily and mental health, I refer the reader to Williams without quotation. The first step China took in adopting what has been forced on her, was to avert this expenditure, the smallest item in her wrong, by sanctioning domestic cultivation. The last—a China, armed with modern weapons, defies the bourgeois world! "Ye have sown the wind; and ye shall reap the whirlwind."

But I have been long over these preliminaries. As if this stain on the gospel in China were not enough, its propagators have added another so truly infernal in complexion that I should fear to describe it, if I could not verify every statement from unimpeachable missionary authority. In 1833, some tracts fell into the hands of a native scholar, who laid them aside on perceiving that they taught the proscribed doctrine of Christ. But during a dangerous illness, in 1837, he had some visions which resulted in his conceiving the ideas that there is but one God; that the idols worshipped by the vulgar are evil spirits; and that a great prophet, whom he called his elder brother (Jesus Christ) was seeking from the spirit world to direct him in the holy work of reformation. He now became a preacher of Christianity, which his followers spread rapidly throughout southern China. Like Paul, on a similar occasion, he believed himself to have received a direct revelation; but was not above studying under those who had been Christians before him, which he did at Canton during 1846. Recriminations make it rather difficult to tell how, about 1850, the native Christian movement assumed the character of a rebellion; but one statement of Williams' well deserves reproduction. Worship of Shang-ti (the supreme being) is an imperial function; only lesser gods receiving their honors directly from the people. We cannot wonder, therefore, says this Christian writer, that a sect which worshipped only Shang-ti should be considered treasonable! So far as I can make out, the chronological steps were these. During the autumn of 1849, Thistlemount, Kwang-si province, was organized as a Christian city. The faithful majority abstained from opium and liquor, observed Sunday, and removed from their own temples all emblems of idolatry. That they did not tolerate it in others, is unstated. They belonged mostly to the immigrant element from more northern China. The natives made these proceedings an excuse for attacks on immigrants elsewhere. The victims flocked to Thistlemount, and mostly became Christians. Having defeated an imperial force which was sent against them, they were joined by the Taoists (disciples of Laotse, who form an important sect) and by other discontented persons, for whose hostility to the government, Williams informs us, there were ample reasons. As yet, a good many native Christians had deprecated resistance. But another victory was avenged by a massacre which drove them all to arms. Their prophet soon took the title of Tien-te (heavenly virtue), which amounted to declaring himself emperor. He observed excellent discipline. Having put to death some Taoists for embezzlement, he was deserted by most of this sect; and retaliated by requiring all his soldiers to renounce it. As the rebellion increased in magnitude, it assumed a purely patriotic character. The Mantchu dynasty, Williams assures us, were universally detested; the rebels, whether pagan or Christian, were fighting against them; the devastation and slaughter, which were fearful, were principally the work of the imperialists, whose wretched cutthroats, beaten in battle after battle, revenged themselves on the unarmed population. The great marches of the "Tai-pings" which gave them almost all the eastern part of China, are ranked by Williams with Marlborough's to the Danube and Sherman's to the sea. They abundantly prove the high military and political genius of Tien-te. True, the troops he had to fight against were contemptible; but that his own were any better, must be attributed wholly to himself. Between 1855 and 1860. the Christians were reduced to great straits by secession of pagan allies and of generals, who set up on their own account. All these pretenders soon perished; while the indomitable spirit of Tien-te enabled him to keep together the nucleus of his force, and at last resume his former power. Some Europeans had been induced to join him. It might certainly be expected that a revolution so high in purpose, so noble in achievement, and so favorable to western influence, would have commanded the sympathy of every foreign Christian. But the French and English had just about finished extorting toleration for opium. They sold the native Christians to the Mantchus—conduct natural enough in mere bourgeois. Did the missionaries find a word of censure? These disciples of St. Judas Iscariot were the first to exchange Christianity, not for thirty pieces of silver, but for opium. The "Ever Victorious Force" of Imperialists, Chinamen armed and trained in European fashion, was organized by a Massachusetts Yankee named Ward, who died September 1861, after driving the Christians from their stronghold of Nanking. He was most appropriately deified by the pagan Mantchu government. Now that this precious authority, upon which the opium trade depended, had been saved, we might think it was possible for the missionaries to say a word on behalf of their native fellow Christians. Did they do it? The business, not of conquering but exterminating native Christianity devolved on their especial favorite—the person known as "Chinese" Gordon. This individual's religion was, like Tien-te's, evolved from his inner consciousness, and absurdly heretical. The praise given him by the missionaries depends upon nothing but his faithful service to the fiend of opium. How this was rendered, we shall see. His chief exploit was reducing the almost impregnable city of Suchau after three months siege. He effected it by negotiation with rebel generals, who murdered their commander Muh Wang. and then surrendered December 3, 1863. The intermediary in this flagitious treason appears to have been Burgeoine, an American, who was in the rebel army with 300 foreigners. He had previously suggested to Gordon giving Tien-te the empire. Williams highly praises Gordon's "moral principles" in refusing to thus trade opium back again for Paradise. It was, indeed, the *gran rifiuto* which some modern Dante ought to sing. Immediately on the surrender, the Chinese commanders Li and Ching murdered the traitors, and sent their soldiers to pillage Suchau. These ruffians slaughtered the betrayed garrison. The women, whose chastity Tien-te had protected by the most able management, under gravest difficulties, were ravished and disembowelled—those who happened to be pregnant with fœtuses old enough to cry being regarded as particularly choice. Gordon's nobility of soul, Dr. Williams assured us, was shown in the fact that he was angry! He would have been something else than human, if not angry. For the treachery of Li and Ching had not only damned him to everlasting fame, but put his life in most serious danger. He was in Suchau, alone and unarmed, relying on Ching's promise that the capitulation would be observed. What, under such circumstances, was the obvious duty of the man who held the fate of China in his hands? To demand the heads of Li and Ching, and take order that the war was henceforth conducted in a civilized manner. What Gordon did was to call Ching a liar, and tender his resignation, which he soon withdrew. The Ever Victorious Force fought its last battle next May, when a rebel army was captured, and for the most part dismissed, "*the Kwangsi men* (the Christians) *alone being executed.*" But though Gordon was now required to dissolve his corps, detested and derided by the Chinese as "imitation foreign devils"; his thirst for unborn fœtuses was unappeased. He assisted, as a volunteer, in the sack and massacre of the last rebel city, Nankin, where Tien-te nobly died, June 1864. "Such men," says Williams, "are not only the choice jewels of their own nation (and England may justly be proud to reckon this son among her worthies) *but leave behind them an example which elevates Christianity itself in the eyes of the Chinese.*" It is well known that he afterwards perished at Khartoum in Nubia (where he was sent to put down the African slave-trade, but immediately entered into alliance with the slave-traders); and that Tennyson celebrated his virtues in an epitaph bad enough for the subject.

Throughout the Tai-ping rebellion, the opium-smugglers sold arms to both sides. How much their agents, the missionaries, made out of these evangelical transactions has, naturally, never been told. The cost to China, in human lives alone, is estimated at 20,000,000. It may be interesting to quote an example of the "reasoning" by which Dr. Williams defends his fellow-evangelists for their share in this atrocious work. In November 1861, the Tai-pings took the important city of Ning-po. They held it till May 10, when it was retaken by the English and imperialists, who, of course, are responsible for its total destruction, which ensued. During the intervals, says Williams, "foreign trade had not been interrupted, and the city suffered less than many others." Yet the fellow Dew, who took it, attempts to lay its ruin on the Tai-pings, in a passage which Williams quotes without comment. The Buddhist ideals, he plaintively remarks, "had become the sport of those Christian Tai-pings whose chief, eight years before, asked if the Virgin Mary had a pretty sister for him to marry." The logical connection between his ignorance about the Virgin Mary and the question who burned Ning-po can by no means escape the most careless reader.

"As a man falleth before the wicked, so he fell." In the grave of Tien-te, were buried the honor of the foreign nations, and the hopes of Chinese Christianity. Henceforth, it was certain that China would learn from the opium-smugglers and their avant-couriers only just enough to punish them. The foreign ministers who have been massacred at Pekin (if they have been) deserve that amount of sympathy due to bold robbers who were not bumbugs. But to every Protestant missionary who has shared their fate, honesty and humanity refuse another consolation than these words convey: "It is the blood of Tien-te which chokes you."

C. L. JAMES.

* * * * *

In San Francisco.

A social and ball will be held in Turk St. Temple, 117 Turk St., Saturday, Sept. 15, at 8 P. M., the proceeds to be devoted to Free Society. Tickets, 25 cents, to be had from Comrade R. Rieger, 1705 Market St. Ladies admitted free.

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CHORDS.

And if it is cowardly for a man to kill, knowing his life (possibly by torture), will pay the penalty, what shall we say of those individuals and organizations who do worse acts, supported by all the forms and dignity of "law?"

Was it cowardly for the Federal Steel Company to work for profit two of its employes, until they died of heat in the Chicago works? For the sugar refiners to drive its employes to suicide, to escape their hell of a refinery? Was it cowardly for the Pinkertons to kill the unarmed women and children in the Pennsylvania strikes? Was it cowardly for the armed men to fire on and kill a score of unarmed miners at Hazelton? Was it cowardly for the soldiery to shoot indiscriminately into the masses of the common people, because they asked for bread in the streets of Milan in Italy? Was it cowardly for the authorities to pull out the fingernails and toenails of men only under suspicion, at Montjuich in Spain? The capitalist press has never had the decency to apply the truthful word cowardly to these villainous acts.—G. B. Benham in San Francisco Advance.

The contractors will enjoy the war with China. They are patriotic for the money there is in it. One incident of what it means to them came under my notice during the Spanish war. The government paid St. Louis contractors $1.50 each for cavalry bridle bits, buying them by the hundred dozen. From the same stock that was filling the government orders, a dealer in the town bought them at 20 cents each! Do you wonder why many people are not opposed to war?—Appeal to Reason.

Treason to Imperialism is loyalty to human rights. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are not safe to any people with rulers, military or commercial.—Justice.

If the gentlemen who return from Manila and announce that the Filipino war is by no means over will go to General Otis, late of the Philippine typewriter headquarters, they may obtain some information that will surprise them. They may, for example, learn that the war has been over for several months—but they may not believe it.—San Francisco Examiner.

A state of war does not exist in China or the Philippines. They are just having a little fun killing each other. That's all.—Farmers Review.

SQUIBS.

In a previous number of Free Society, brother Byington calls in question my assertion that the historic character of Jesus Christ was not a proven fact. He asks me whether I believe in the historic character of certain persons, either historic or suppositional. Now I want to ask another question. Does my belief or disbelief add to or take from the *fact*, or prove or disprove the *truth* of the historic character of Jesus Christ? I deny the claim, and call for the proof of his historic character.

Why is inconsistency on the question of marriage any more to be condemned than any other form of inconsistency? Is the couple who find happiness in each others' company to deny themselves this happiness, crucify themselves, as it were, rather than marry when circumstances preclude their association otherwise? Can we ignore our environment? If so, we are foolish for remaining poor, and positively have nothing to complain of. Let us learn that every one must decide for himself or herself alone, how near they can live to their ideal.

Let me state to my correspondents that I now live at Mt. Tabor. Letters addressed to me at Portland will reach me. I was evicted from the house I lived in near Woodstock, for helping a girl out of the cruel grasp of an orthodox mother, who is under the domination of a merciless tyrant. He tried to drive me out; but I stayed until he went to the expense of court proceedings. The court said I was morally right, but the law gave him posession as I was in arrears for rent. Another proof that the "law has always been wrong." The evictor hoped to get my garden; but how elusive hopes sometimes are! Of course, I got some free advertising, as the Anarchist who tries to put his theories into practice, in the local press.

Radicals denounce capitalism, and loudly call for co-operation; but stop at that. Others who do not claim to be even so much as reformers put voluntary co-operation into practice. At Astoria, Or., the fishermen have a co-operative cannery in operation, that is very successful. At Albany, Or, there is a creamery run on the broadest co-operative plan. Every person connected with it, whether stockholder or customer, shares in the profit of the concern; thus all profit is eliminated. Why can't Anarchist-Communists do as much?

The Vegetarian Restaurant of Portland, run by the Adventists, is a common meeting ground for all kinds and classes. You can see all sorts, from the poorest paid laborer to bank cashiers. "Reformers," however, seem to predominate; and free love appears to be the chief topic of conversation. Perhaps it is not discussed as much in the other groups as in the one I eat with, however; but some form of social change is the principal theme with nearly all those who patronize this neat, clean eating place, where they serve well cooked meals at 2c. a dish.

The Dock Laborers of Portland went on strike for an increase of wages. They are unorganized. They were getting 30c. per hour, regular time, 40c. for overtime. Efforts were made to organize them into a union; but they declare that organization would cause division amongst them; and that if they "hang together" they are sure to win. And so they are.

The signs "keep off the grass," are still along the paths of the Plaza; but lolling, sitting, and sleeping, on the greensward under the trees, is quite common. Thus law becomes powerless, when people cease to obey it.

The desire to escape rent and taxpaying is illustrated in Portland by the large "floating population": those who live in floathouses on the river, as well as those who pay the first month's rent, and then refuse to pay again, moving only when legally evicted.

I still want to make a propaganda tour east, as far as Boston, if possible. If any of the comrades wish to arrange meetings, or do anything to help on the tour. I would be glad to hear from them between now and the first of September. It may be toward spring before I can get away, if at all; but I would like to make the tour. Poverty, however, may be still holding me down, and making it impossible for me to make the tour. Nevertheless, I will keep plugging along with the hope still living. HENRY ADDIS.

The slave petitions, the free man takes.

The Letter-Box.

Various Correspondents.—Copies of a previous issue containing marked notice of arrearage were sent to all who were far behind in their subscription, and by mistake to a few in good standing. The names taken off since then have been only those more than six months in arrears, and do not include any faithful comrades who are in a condition of poverty, but desire the paper.

B. B., Philadelphia, Pa.,—Stamps will do.

M. A. C., Brooklyn, N. Y.—I will send report direct to Paris in a few days. Thanks for enclosure.

W. R., National City, Cal.,—Thanks for your good wishes, comrade. But we find the "middle of the road" policy wiser, as well as more honest, than winking at superstition, in order to humor prejudiced minds.

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